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ABSTRACT

This study evaluates the significance of John Dewey's 1924 visit to Turkey and the subsequent reports and recommendations Dewey prepared regarding the Turkish educational system. The study analyzes the 30 pages of reports from 1924 from both historical and contemporary perspectives. Dewey's first report addressed better teacher training and the funding of education. The second report made specific recommendations for the formation and execution of an educational plan, the development of schools as community centers, the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the training and treatment of teachers, the redefinition of the school system, the improvement of health and hygiene issues in schools, and the improvement of discipline. The paper also includes John Dewey's essays on the Turkish state where Dewey addressed larger Turkish problems. The essays first appeared in "New Republic" and have been reprinted over the years. (EH)

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JOHN DEWEY'S REPORT OF 1924 AND HIS RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE TURKISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM REVISITED

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by Selahattin Turan

Abstract

In his life time, Dewey visited many countries around the world including Turkey, Soviet Russia, China, and Mexico. In addition to lecturing on educational issues and reform efforts, he also advised foreign governments on educational questions and prepared detailed reports. In 1924, the Turkish Ministry of Education invited Dewey to observe and analyze the Turkish educational system and make recommendations for restructuring and reorganizing the existing educational system. Dewey accepted this invitation with enthusiasm and went to Turkey in July 15, 1924 completing his visit on September 18. His visit came at a time of social, cultural, and political transformation in Turkey. After spending two months analyzing the educational system, Dewey prepared two reports. In these reports, he made specific recommendations for the formation and an execution of educational plan, the development of schools as community centers, the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the training and treatment of teachers, the redefinition of the school system, the improvement of health and hygiene issues in schools, the improvement of discipline, and other areas of schooling. The reports constitute "a comprehensive theory of public education." This paper reevaluates and analyzes the significance of John Dewey's visit to Turkey and his report and recommendations on the Turkish educational system. This study analyzes his 30 page report of 1924 from historical and contemporary perspectives. The paper also introduces John Dewey's essays on the Turkish state. The essays on larger Turkish problems first appeared in the*New Republic* and was republished in different places over the years.

Introduction and Purpose

John Dewey's distinctive contribution to modern educational thought is remarkable and still influential. Over the last two decades, thinkers and scholars in education have reemphasized and debated the importance of Dewey's ideas in educational reform efforts and administration (Willower, 1994; Uline, 1995; Robertson, 1992; Peltier, 1991; Garrison, 1994a; Garrison, 1994b; Garrison, 1995; House, 1994; Cherryholmes, 1994).

In the U.S., Dewey's work and influence have been reemphasized in order to develop sound theories to address the educational problems schools face today. Unlike other philosophers of his time, John Dewey's foreign influence and reputation is exceptional. In his life time, Dewey visited many nations around the world including Turkey, Soviet Russia, China, and Mexico (Ratner, 1929; Brickman, 1949, 1961; Kandel, 1930; Blewett, 1960). In addition to lecturing on educational reform, he also advised foreign governments on educational questions and prepared detailed reports.

In 1924, the Turkish Ministry of Education invited Dewey to observe and analyze the Turkish educational system and make recommendations for restructuring and reorganizing the existing educational system. Dewey accepted this invitation with enthusiasm and went to Turkey in July 15, 1924 completing his visit on September 18 (Dewey, 1939; Cohen, 1983; Scotten, 1983; Brickman, 1984-85). His visit came at a time of social, cultural, and political transformation in Turkey. After spending two months analyzing the educational system, Dewey prepared two reports. In the first report, which was written in Turkey, he made recommendations for better teaching training and the funding of education. In the second report, which he wrote in the United States, he made specific recommendations for the formation and an execution of educational plan, the development of schools as community centers, the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the training and treatment of teachers, the redefinition of the school system, the improvement of health and hygiene issues in schools, the improvement of discipline, and other areas of schooling.

These forgotten recommendations of Dewey's 1924 report still hold relevance to education today. It seems that Dewey's revival is occurring not only in the United States, but around the world as a way of providing sound philosophical theories of educational reform and restructuring efforts which are becoming more complex than ever before. In order to reevaluate his ideas and take into consideration in these educational reform efforts, his previous works and reports must be revisited and analyzed. The purpose of this paper is to reevaluate and analyze the significance of John Dewey's visit to Turkey and his report and recommendations on the Turkish educational

system. This study will analyze his 30 page report of 1924[1] from historical and contemporary perspectives. The paper will also introduce John Dewey's essays on the Turkish state. The essays on larger Turkish problems first appeared in the *New Republic* and was republished in different places over the years.

Turkish History and Education

Before writing his classic book, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* in 1962, Callahan (1996, p. 2) noticed that "to really understand the school system of any country, it had to be studied in the context of the society of which it was a part." The idea of understanding society and its interrelation with schools has been long ignored by educational reformers and leaders. Educational reforms and studies have focused on the school and ignored its relationship with the different dimensions of social, political, and economic life. For example, Hogan (1996) believes that economic transformation of particular era has extraordinary and continuing impact on the 'opportunity structure' which is crucial in understanding human and educational conditions. 'Opportunity structure' refers to "the systematic social arrangement and spatial distribution of opportunities for economic independence, social mobility, and material and social well-being in a society at a particular point in time. He further explains that "Opportunity structures are shaped by a variety of influences-economic arrangements, ideologies, collective action, and state power" (Hogan, 1996, p. 246). Comprehending the past nature of economical arrangements, ideologies,

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[1]During his visit to Turkey, Dewey prepared two reports on Turkish education. The first "Preliminary Report" which is short and was written in Turkey submitted to the Turkish government in September by John Dewey. In this report, Dewey made concrete recommendations concerning the general state and the funding of education. For the Turkish version, see John Dewey, *Turkiye maarifi hakkinda rapor*. Istanbul, Turkey: Devlet Basimevi. For the English version see J. A. Boydston, (1983 & 1988), *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, p. 301-307). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University. The second report titled "Report and Recommendation Upon Turkish Education" was written in the USA and sent to Turkey. The second report includes problems of educational system and recommendations for the improvement of it. The Turkish version of the report was, first, published with "the preliminary report" by the ministry of education in 1939 and later in 1952 and 1960. See John Dewey (1939), *Turkiye maarifi hakkinda rapor* [Report about Turkish Education], Istanbul, Turkey: Devlet Basimevi. The English undated text is in the Columbia University's Dewey collection. The English text version of "Preliminary Report" and "Report and Recommendation Upon Turkish Education" is republished under the same titles in 1983 and 1988 by the Southern Illinois University. See J. A. Boydston, (1983 & 1988), *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, p. 301-307 & 273-279). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University.

collective action, and state power and their interrelations with the educational condition in the society, I believe, are central in understanding the conditions of schooling in Turkey. Any analysis which misses these components is incomplete. Turkish historians recently have attempted to examine the economic and social structures of the past and their relations with state, ideology, economic history, and state power (Inalcik, 1985, 1994, 1995; Kafadar, 1995; Brown, 1996). This will enable educational historians and key leaders in reform efforts to take a look at educational reform and movements from a broader perspectives. As a result of studying educational issues in a social, political, economical, and historical context, foundations of near 'official educational history' will be weakened while developing new foundations for education and its practice in Turkey.

Before analyzing Dewey's report of 1924, I will discuss the educational history of the Ottoman Turkish Empire and modern Republic. The background of the socio-cultural and educational setting is necessary for a better understanding of Dewey's Report and its significance in Turkish educational history. Turks established their first formal state "Gokturk Empire" under the leadership of Bumin and Istemi Khan in front of the Altai mountains in Central Asia in 552 A. D. (Kosoglu, 1990). We have little information about formal educational practices of that time but the existence of an alphabet composed of 38 letters is evidence of the existence of formal education in the Gokturk Empire (Akyuz, 1982). Because of a number of interrelated factors and reasons such as the economy, climate changes, and pressures of stronger neighbors in the 10th century, some of the tribes moved towards the west and came to Anatolia, the land where today's Turkey is located. After embracing Islam, they started the Turkishizing and Islamizing of Turkey. There was massive adult and religious education during this time. In 1299, based on the matured foundations of the Selcuk Empire, the Ottoman Empire started to rise and became a world class state which lasted till the beginning of this century. Wittek (1971, p. 1) summarizes the political rise of Ottoman Empire as follows,

> the Ottoman Empire holds a special place on account of the vast extent of its realm and the long duration of its existence. Arising about 1300 from very modest beginnings, only a

> century later it was clearly inspired by the idea of universal domination, which it was afterwards to realize by occupying vast territories in the three continents of the ancient world, Europe, Asia and Africa. In this enormous area the Ottoman Empire was for centuries the unrivalled power which determined all political events, and at the same time represented for these countries a cultural epoch, the traces of which still remain visible long after the empire itself has disappeared.

The Empire's educational system and its institutions, which had contributed to the long duration of the empire, were significant.

Education in Ottoman Empire

Since the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state in nature, the philosophy of its educational system was based on Islamic principles and Turkish tradition. It was influenced by Islamic scholars and institutions (Kocer, 1987).

> The Ottoman established schools that were joined to mosques; and they organized a graded system of education, from the lowest mektep (primary school) to the highest medrese (higher religious college). In addition to these religious schools, there were several other agencies that performed significant educational functions. For example, the famous Palace School (Enderun Mektebi) recruited the choicest youth from among non-Moslem subjects of the Empire (mostly the Christian subjects); it trained them in what may be called a combination of the liberal, vocational, and physical elements of education and prepared them for high positions in the Royal Court, in the army, and in the civil bureaucracy. There were also what may be called the informal educational agencies, such as the various bureaus of the government, the mosque, and so on (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965, p. 122-123).

Enderun Mektebi [The Palace School] and Medrese [University] were the two main institutions which contributed toward the greatness and the permanence of the Ottoman nation (Kazamias, 1966). The curricula and recruitment policies for these institutions were carefully developed and

implemented. Recruitment into the palace school, which was established in the 15th century, was selected among unmarried, non-Muslim individuals. The ablest children for leadership positions in the Ottoman Empire were selected for housing "on the basis of physical and intellectual criteria rather than blood or wealth."

> Recruitment into the medreses and promotion within it were based on merit rather than on family background, and ecclesiastical careers were assigned according to meritorious performance. Thus the principle of meritocracy held true not only in high civil and military positions but also in religious offices....it appears, therefore, that education in the early Ottoman period (until the end of the sixteenth century) was a major factor in the social advancement of the individual and in his occupational placement (Kazamias, 1966, p. 33).

The legacy of the Ottoman empire was partly based on its formal and informal educational institutions which were basically and partially based on religious principles. The success of the empire and its civilization with the different educational system was the reflection of Islamic thought as a way of life during this era. During the decline of the Empire, which started at the end of sixteenth century, some efforts were made to reform and westernize the Ottoman Empire and its educational institutions (Kocer, 1987; Akyuz, 1982; Kazamias, 1966). The reason for that was that;

> The Ottoman Empire was no longer the great, powerful, cohesive entity of the Golden Era of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Something had to be done to save it from the persistent threat of the European powers and from internal disintegration. In 1792 the new sultan sought advice from eminent Ottoman on how to meet the European challenge, and how to save the empire. Some of these men suggested reforms, thus ushering in the period of westernization or modernization which paved the way for the ultimate transformation of the Ottoman Islamic state into the modern Turkish Republic (Kazamias, 1966, p. 50).

Since the beginning of the 17th century, the concepts of reform, modernization, change, and westernization of the educational system have become part of Turkish social, political, and educational life.

Education in the Modern Turkish Republic

The Turkish republic was proclaimed in 1923, one year before John Dewey's arrival. Leaders of the new republic, who were Turkish army generals with no education in psychology, political science, law, and economics decided to imitate a "modern" nation based on western democratic principles without reference to the culture of their own people. This undertaking required top-down transformations and massive changes in the structure and societal life of the country, which received little support from the people. The new republic era and its leadership saw education "as the most important foundation" of the transformation (Kazamias, 1966). In order to create a modern state, it was necessary to create new values, new ideologies, and new ways of looking at things (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965). Many of the old Ottoman institutions including the educational system were abolished after the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

> Education was inextricably bound up with political, economic, and cultural independence and with breaking the shackles of traditional beliefs and outlooks; it was the means of nourishing national aspirations, creating the consensus necessary to sustain a free national state, training new Turkish leaders, and paving the way towards a dynamic and modern society. Knowledge and science were regarded as power and as the leverage in transforming and uplifting the entire society (Kazamias, 1966, p. 115).

Education became way of controlling and dissemination of the "official ideology" among the citizens of the country. This understanding and usage of education as an instrument of control and as an ideological too was criticized by Dewey. Dewey and other foreign scholars in the field of education were invited by the Turkish government to advise on ways of building up a modern educational system which would serve the interests of new Republican ideology. Other foreign reports on Turkish education include the Kuhne report of 1925, the Omar Buyse report of 1927, Albert Malche report of 1932, Miss Parker report of 1934, Kemmerrer group report of 1933, and Philippe Schwartz report of 1933-1952 (see Akyuz, 1982; Saqib, 1983; Basgoz & Wilson, 1968).

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John Dewey's Report of 1924

In 1924, the Turkish Ministry of Education invited Dewey to observe and analyze the existing educational system of Turkey and make recommendations for reform and restructuring. Cohen (1983, p. xix) states that "Dewey accepted this invitation with enthusiasm. He went to Turkey in July of 1924; he stayed for two months, looking and listening closely, consulting and advising with characteristic energy and constructive civility. From this very stimulating visit arose some of the most fascinating pieces." Cohen believes that the value of this report is highly significant. The report "speaks directly to the problems of school systems in all developing countries, today and for many coming decades" (p. xx). The report is first a "model of clear and concise exposition" and "a comprehensive theory of public education." The report, first, is "model of clear and concise exposition. Its organization is superb, its prose lucid. Not a sentence or a word is wasted. Second, it embodies-literally gives body to-a comprehensive theory of public education" (p. xxi). Brickman (1984-85) also notices that brevity was the soul of Dewey's writing on Turkish education."

After his two months visit, John Dewey prepared two reports. In the "Preliminary Report," which was written in Turkey, he made concrete suggestions for the improvement of the existing educational system and educational budget. In the report "Report and Recommendation Upon Turkish Education," which he wrote in the U. S., he advised the Turkish government on ways to establish a modern education system, providing clear guidelines for reform efforts.

Preliminary Report[2]

This preliminary memorandum, which is short, just seven pages of print, was submitted by John Dewey to the Turkish government in September of 1924. It includes urgent suggestions for

[2]The unpublished English typescript of the "Preliminary report on Turkish Education" (September 1924) with the letter of transmittal for preliminary report on Turkish education is located in the Diplomatic Branch of National Archives, Washington, D. C. (See Jo Ann Boydston, 1983 & 1988). The transmittal letter with the preliminary report on Turkish education was written by the first secretary of Embassy in the United States High Commission in Istanbul, Turkey. It is a three page letter to the Secretary of State in Washington concerning Dewey's visit and his activities in Turkey. The letter also includes the U.S Ambassador's personal observations and the Turkish press's statements about Dewey and his report about education.

issues to be studied by commissions of inquiry. Dewey starts his report by emphasizing the importance of improvement of teachers with the most progressive and efficient pedagogical methods, "since without doubt the great body of teachers are earnest and sincere, and since no real improvement of education can be made without improvement in the preparation of the teachers, both in scholarship and in acquaintance with the most progressive and efficient pedagogical methods in use in other parts of the world" (Dewey, 1983, p. 301).

The issues raised and to be studied by commissions were identified as follows: (1) arrangements of facilities for translating, publishing and circulating progressive educational literature of a practical character (2) a year's program of educational reading and discussion groups for study and circulation of educational literature; (3) preparation of traveling educational exhibits of models of mechanical and industrial apparatus; (4) buildings, grounds, and equipment, with a special reference to hygiene and sanitary conditions, and with respect to that style of construction and arrangement which is best adapted to promotion of manual and other personal form of activity; (5) establishment of "traveling libraries" to provide home reading material for students and their parents; (6) a gradual formulation of a national plan; (7) practical and vocational work, including the upper grades of elementary school, a different type of middle school, agricultural, industrial and commercial, vocational and practical sections in normal schools; (8) physical training, sports, games, with especial reference to both semi-medical training and outdoor activities; (9) rural schools and rural development in connection with agricultural development and cooperation of farmers; and (10) sending commissions or individuals abroad to visit educational facilities, rural conditions, and so forth (Dewey, 1939). At the end of the report, Dewey provided two underlying principles for his recommendations. These two principles of Dewey are still valid:

> [1]. The Turkish schools do not need particular isolated forms as much as they need a consecutive plan of development covering a considerable number of years. It is better to postpone even desirable developments until the questions have been thoroughly studied and persons have been prepared to carry out the new plans,

rather than to introduce them prematurely. The latter course will lead to aimless changes and to instability.

[2]. The Ministry of Public Instruction is the proper center for forming commissions to study and prepare plans for these developments. This method will protect the Ministry from the danger of becoming bureaucratic, too much preoccupied with formalities, "red tape," and clerical routine work. It should concentrate its activities upon becoming *the intellectual and moral leader and inspirer of Turkish education* and avoid all activities which do not lead to this end. *Intellectual centralization and diversity and decentralization of practical execution and details should be the aim* [italics mine] (Dewey, 1983, 1988, p. 307).

It seems that the problems seen by Dewey are still unresolved today. Many changes were adopted prematurely without a thorough study by the central organization. The ministry has become a rigid bureaucracy over the years. All decisions related to the educational matters are made by central authorities including preparation of the national curriculum, the appointment of teachers, and the educational leaders. In this highly centralized system, the educational leaders, teachers, and students cannot create a positive environment for teaching, learning, and updating themselves with technological and educational changes.

Report and Recommendation Upon Turkish Education

When Turkey was proclaimed a Republic in 1923, Turkish leaders regarded education "as power and as the leverage in transforming and uplifting the entire society" (Kazamias, 1966, p. 115). Education was used as way of disseminating new ideas, values, and the 'state ideology.' For the dissemination of these new ideas and values, the leaders of that time thought that it was necessary to create a powerful mechanism which would help educational and political leaders to abolish and reject the traditional educational institutions of the Ottoman Era. They thought it necessary to centralize the educational system and make only the Ministry of Education responsible for education of the people. From the beginning, this policy of centralization ignored the cultural

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context and historical dimension of education as well as participation of teachers and educational leaders in the reform efforts. In the early republic and today, the role of education is misunderstood and as a result all educational reform are misguided. That is, the political and official elite see schools as the center of dissemination of their political ideologies. Issues concerning unemployment, basic health care for all, child poverty, illiteracy, the shortage of teachers, the conditions of schools in remote areas of the country, sexism, and sexual harassment in schools are never addressed. Thus, some Turkish scholars have questioned the legitimacy of the foundations of the education system of the Republic. This trend towards centralization was also criticized at the time by John Dewey who addressed the dangers of "too much and too highly centralized activity" in the name of uniformity. Even today, the system lacks flexibility, local control, teacher's sense of ownership, and commitment. Most importantly, the lack of philosophical foundations and aims of education system are crucial issues that Turkish education faces today.

This main report is more analytical and longer than the preliminary report. Dewey began his report by emphasizing the importance of correlating the means and context of curriculum with the aims and purposes of schooling.

> The first and most important point is to settle upon the aim and purpose of the schools of Turkey. Only when this is done is it possible to be clear upon the means to be used and to lay down a definite program of progressive and gradual development. A clear idea of the ends which the schools should attain will protect the schools from needless changes which are no sooner effected than they are undone by other so-called reforms, which lead nowhere. Positively, a clear idea of the end will reveal the steps which need to be taken, afford a check and test for measures proposed, and reveal the order in which the successive steps in education should be taken. Fortunately, there in no difficulty in stating the main end to be secured by the educational system of Turkey. It is the development of Turkey as a vital, free, independent, and lay republic in full membership in the circle of civilized states. To achieve this end the schools must (I)form proper political habits and

> *ideas; (2) foster the various forms of economic and commercial skill and ability*; and (3) develop the traits and dispositions of character, intellectual and moral, which fit men and women for self-government, economic self-support and industrial progress; namely, initiative and inventiveness, independence of judgment, ability to think scientifically and to cooperate for common purposes socially. To realize these ends, the mass of citizens must be educated for intellectual participation in the political, economic, and cultural growth of the country, and not simply certain leaders (Dewey, 1983, p. 225 & Dewey, 1939, p. 8).

After stressing the importance of well-defined aims of education, Dewey addressed the specific issues that schools faced. He repeated some recommendations that he made in the preliminary report. In regarding the elementary school curriculum, he urged hat the materials of the curriculum should "be modified in different sections of the country to be adapted to local conditions and needs. Without this change, the school studies will not be connected with the life of the pupils, and hence will neither serve them practically nor enlist their full interest and attention." He further stressed that "the system should be flexible enough to accommodate itself to local conditions, especially economic." In the towns and rural districts, "the studies should be primarily of a practical nature, agricultural or industrial according to the customs of the locality" (Dewey, 1983, p. 289). The importance of having both elementary and secondary schools as "centers of community life" was emphasized. The schools should be health centers, meeting grounds for parents, games, and other activities.

Suggestions that Dewey made about the planning of school facilities still hold relevance. Dewey stated "[i]t is a great mistake to suppose that any trained architect can with a little advice from teachers plan a proper school building, and that the subject of buildings can be safely entrusted to ordinary architects and school officials. If this method is followed buildings of routine type will be erected, and money will go to external show rather that the real educational needs" (p. 279). More than seven decades have passed since his recommendation and little has changed concerning the planning of educational facilities. No advice at all was accepted from teachers in the construction process of school buildings. Educational specifications are not part of facility

planning. Because of the lack of input from educational staff, existing educational facilities do not respond to today's requirements and the taxpayer's money is wasted. It goes to the "external show" and construction firms which have close ties to politicians.

The administration and organization of education was discussed in details in Dewey's report, including the roles and the functions of the Ministry of education. Five months before Dewey's arrival, on March 3, 1924, the "Law of Unification of Instruction" placed all educational institutions under the control of the Ministry of Education. The law also included all religious schools and funds used by Awkaf organizations run by Islamic Ulama and other private establishments (Saqib, 1983; Kazamias, 1968). The Law of Unification was an ideological one and concerned with implementing secularization policies (Williamson, 1987). Since unification, the administration of Turkish education has been centered under the National Ministry of Education. All decisions affecting the administration of the schools are made by central authorities in the capital city and the Ministry has the final world on all things related to education.

Control and domination are two central concepts which explain the general nature of the administration of education and its leadership since 1924. Dewey warned about the danger of centralization and the removal of local control in education. He pointed out that centralized system can "prevent local communities taking the responsibilities which they should take; and produce too uniform a system of education, not flexibly adapted to the varying needs of different localities, urban, rural, maritime, and to different types of rural communities, different environments and different industries" (p. 280). Furthermore, he noticed that

> there is also danger that any centralized system will become bureaucratic, arbitrary and tyrannical in action, and given to useless and perfunctory mechanical work in making useless records, requiring and filing useless reports from others, and in general what is termed in French 'papasserie' and in English 'red-tape.' The functions of the Ministry should be *intellectual* and *moral leadership and inspiration*, rather than detailed administrative supervision and executive management" (p. 280-281).

The unification law and the concept of uniformity were analyzed and consequences were identified.

Suggestions were made concerning the role and functions of the Ministry of Education as follows:

> While Turkey needs *unity* in its educational system, it must be remembered that there is a great difference between unity and uniformity, and that a mechanical system of uniformity may be harmful to real unity. The central Ministry should stand for unity, but against uniformity and in favor of diversity. Only by diversification materials can schools be adapted to local conditions and needs and the interest of different localities be enlisted. Unity is primarily an intellectual matter, rather than an administrative and clerical one. It is to be attained by so equipping and staffing the central Ministry of Public Instruction that it will be the inspiration and leader, rather than dictator of education in Turkey (p. 281).

It is impossible to solve all educational problems from the politicized central office in a country where the population is growing rapidly. Empowering teachers, and educational leaders as well as the public will better human and education conditions and ease the burden of the Ministry of education. Dewey suggested that the ministry of education should give its chief attention to such intellectual problems. "By giving its chief attention to such intellectual problems, the department will be protected from the danger of degenerating into a routine clerical and bookkeeping office, and also from the danger of being arbitrary dictator, arousing the antagonism rather than the cooperation of local school administrators" (p. 282).

Concerning the training and treatment of teachers, Dewey (1983, p. 283) stated that "the problem of attracting to the teaching profession the right kind of intelligent and devoted men and women and equipping them with both knowledge of subjects taught and with modern and progressive pedagogical ideas is the crucial problem." The treatment of teachers in terms of salaries and administrative treatment, he advised, should be taken into account in the new reform efforts for long term success . Such issues as salaries, security of tenure, stability of position, the housing of teachers, the modification of regulations regarding expenditures of money by school leaders should, he said, be addressed. Concerning the training of teachers, Dewey stressed the need for improvement of quality and differentiation of types of normal schools and of courses

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within them. "There must be distinct types of normal schools for the training of rural school teachers, with special reference to the needs of the toilers of the soil who are the mainstay of Turkish life. Unless there is especial attention given by the schools to the interests of the peasants and framers, there is considerable danger that the establishment of universal education might actually result in social harm" (p. 287). Dissemination of literature among teachers via service correspondence courses, and sending teachers abroad for further study were also recommended.

Impact of the Dewey report on Turkish Education

In his article about John Dewey's influence on education in foreign lands, Kandel (1930, p. 65) states that

> it is difficult at a time when education throughout the world is passing through a period of unrest and transition to evaluate all the influences that underlie so widespread a movement. Still less is it possible to estimate the influence of an individual. The character and purposes of educational systems from the second half of the nineteenth century to the close of the War were in most countries so definitely based on national aspirations and nationalistic indoctrination as to preclude any extraneous influences that seemed to challenge the claims of the governmental authorities in charge. Administrative centralization with fixed national aims and purposes, with prescribed curricula and courses of study, and uniform methods was deliberately set against innovations.

That description was very true for Turkey as well. According to some authors, some of Dewey's recommendations were not followed while others were utilized and applied to education over the years (Brickman, 1961; Basgoz & Wilson, 1968; Szyliowicz, 1973; Saqib, 1983; Brickman, 1984-1985; Williamson, 1987; Buyukduvenci, 1995).

With the Law of Unification of Instruction [1924], the educational system was centralized and some traditional educational institutions were abolished. The importance of nationalism and the 'official state ideology' was reflected in the curriculum and the general aims of education and made the focal point of teaching and learning. The centralization and uniformity of education were

necessary in controlling and changing the people's minds for the sake of the republican ideology. The main functions of the Ministry of Education have since been the control and the dissemination of official knowledge for uniformity. Regarding the reorganization of ministry, Dewey recommendations were never followed. Dewey suggested that the main functions of Ministry of Education should be "intellectual and moral leadership," and "inspiration of education," rather than as "dictator of education." Dewey's recommendations concerning the role of Ministry of Education and the role of education in a pluralistic democratic state contradicted the policy of the Turkish government.

Buyukduvenci (1995), in his essay on John Dewey, indicates the interest of the new Republic in Pragmatic Philosophy. However, like many other thinkers of the Republic, he also fails to recognize the real issues of education in the context of wider social arrangements and situate the crisis of education within these arrangements. Rather, he identifies and blames Turkish family structure and lack of mentality transformation. "[W]ithout realizing the mentality transformation, it is very hard, I believe, to accomplish radical changes in any society, in any educational system" (p. 230). He further states that "[s]o the main obstacle lies in the traditional culture and especially in the family structure" (p. 230). It is questionable to blame the family structure and cultural context of a society and its people who have no word and power in education reform efforts.

The historical recommendations by Dewey were not welcomed by the new republican officials because Dewey emphasized the importance of the social and cultural context of schools, and the local control of education. The top down reform efforts and domination of a single paradigm and ideology intentionally ignored the culture of people. Consequently, the people lost trust in educational reform efforts and its leadership.

Dewey's books were translated into the Turkish language and made available to educators a short time after his visit. This can be seen as the indicator of Dewey's influence on education (Brickman, 1984-1985). The works translated into the Turkish language include School *and Society* (1924), *Democracy and Education* (1928), *Moral Principles of Education* (1934), *Freedom and Culture* (1962, 1964), and *Experience and Education* (1966). In addition to these translation,

Dewey's reports also were republished twice in 1952 and 1960.

The attitudes of the ministers of education's towards the reports were somewhat mixed. The invitation to Dewey had been conveyed by the Ministry of Public Instruction Vasfi Bey who was Vassif Bey's predecessor (Scotten, 1983). During his visit, Dewey had three interviews with the Minister of Public Instruction. According to Scotten (1983, p. 419), the minister "showed himself quite willing to answer Professor Dewey's questions, but by no means anxious to elicit or even receive Professor Dewey's suggestions. It was apparent that the Minister had clearly in mind his own program for education in Turkey and he was not particularly interested in ascertaining the views of an "advisor" foisted upon him by his predecessor." However, Dewey's reports influenced a subsequent Minister of Education (Buyukduvenci, 1995). Mustafa Necati paid attention to Dewey's recommendations on the restructuring process of education. The establishment of Teacher Training Schools, Rural Teacher Training Schools, Village Institutes were attempts in that direction in accordance with the recommendations of John Dewey (Kazamias, 1966 & Buyukduvenci, 1995). The importance of promotion, tenure of teachers, salaries, training of teachers in the nation and abroad were also recognized in the 1930s. In addition, the policy of allowing students to learn by doing and the integration of isolated subjects in the elementary and secondary schools curriculum were influences of Dewey's.

In general, it can be said that the recommendations made by Dewey are historically significant in the development of the educational system. John Dewey "as a philosopher of education is still continuing to influence Turkish education theoretically through his ideas on education, and especially Pragmatism" (Buyukduvenci, 1995). Nevertheless, it is difficult to practice his recommendations in a country where the philosophy of education is strictly based on the "official state ideology" in a very centralized educational system. Biesta & Miedema (1996, p. 12) state nicely the discrepancy between Dewey's recommendations and the policy of the Turkish government:

> While Dewey not unsurprisingly argued that a modern, democratic state needed a plural, albeit secular, educational system, the policy of the Turkish government was precisely

aimed at the reduction-even repression-of destabilizing pluralism. In our opinion, it is not correct to interpret this discrepancy inn terms of modern versus premodern. The case of Dewey in Turkey shows the paradoxical character of modernization itself, as it can be argued that while the Turkish government acted out of the typically modern conviction that society can be managed, a conviction that unmistakingly plays a role in Dewey's recommendations as well as Dewey's recommendations themselves were much more based on the recognition that modernization implies pluralization. The case of Dewey in Turkey clearly reveals this crucial tension within the process of modernization.

John Dewey's Reflection On Turkish State

As far as I know, John Dewey wrote five essays about Turkey. The articles, which are Dewey's personal observations and thoughts on Turkish state and schools, first appeared in *New Republic* and then were republished in different places over the years.[3] The titles of the articles are follows: "Secularizing a theocracy"[4] (Dewey, 1924, 1929, 1964, 1983, 1988), "Angora the new"[5] (Dewey, 1924, 1929, 1964, 1983, 1988), "The Turkish tragedy"[6] (Dewey, 1924, 1929, 1964, 1983, 1988), "Foreign schools in Turkey"[7] (Dewey, 1924, 1929, 1983, 1988), and "The

[3]See the references in this paper for all list of publication and republication places of Dewey's works on the Turkish educational and social matters.

[4]Dewey, John. (1924, September). Secularizing a theocracy. *The New Republic, 40*, 69-71. Republished in *John Dewey's impressions of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary world: Mexico-China-Turkey* (pp. 153-160), New York, NY: Columbia University. And in Rather, J. (1929). *Characters and events* (pp. 324-139, with the title "Young Turkey and Caliphate), New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company. Also Republished in Boydston, J. A. (1983). *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, pp. 128-133), Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

[5]Dewey, J. (1924, October). Angora, the new. *The New Republic, 40*, 169-170. Republished in *John Dewey's Impressions of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary world: Mexico-China-Turkey* (pp. 147-153), New York, NY: Columbia University. And in Ratner, J. (1929). (Ed.). *Characters and events* (pp. 330-334). New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company. Also republished in Boydston, J. A. (1983). *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, pp. 134-137), Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

[6]Dewey, J. (1924, November). The Turkish tragedy. *The New Republic*, 40, 268-269. Republished in Ratner, J. A., (1929).Characters and events (Vol. 1, pp. 335-339). New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company. And in John Dewey's Impressions of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary world: Mexico-China-Turkey (pp. 142-147), New York, NY: Columbia University. Also republished in Boydston, J. A. (1983 & 1988). *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, pp. 134-137), Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

[7]Dewey, J. (1924, December). Foreign schools in Turkey. *The New Republic, 41*, p.40-42. Republished in Rather, J. (1929). Characters and events (Vol. 1, pp. 346-357 with the title "America and Turkey"), New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company. Also republished in Boydston, J. A. (1983 & 1988). *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899-1924* (Vol. 15: 1923-1924, pp. 134-137), Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

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problem of Turkey"[8] (Dewey, 1925, 1929). Dewey's visit came at a time of social, cultural, political transformation of Turkey after the World War I. Each these articles' titles was a reflection of these social and political climate of the country. The essays have significant historical value for those who are interested in studying the transformational era of the republic from the eye of a philosophical traveler. Even though Dewey's visit was to study and prepare report about the educational system for its modernization, he wrote some articles about the larger social and political issues of Turkey. In these article, John Dewey was hopeful about the future of the country in her effort in becoming full member in the circle of civilized states. Cohen (1983, p. xix) explains that "in his deliberations on Turkish matters Dewey is unfailingly hopeful, but never sanguine. Here again he emphasizes the need for planning and experiment to give principles, formulated as ideals, tangible effect in the lives of persons and communities." Cohen also notices that "Dewey's essays on Turkey are the reflections of a penetrating philosophical traveler... Dewey came to admire many aspects of Turkish life, but he did not allow the good manners of a guest to dull his critical faculties. As a stranger, his understanding of Turkish life was incomplete; his informants were at times deceptive, but he does not appear to have been fooled. His aim throughout was to identify those themes upon which Turkish and Western leaders could join with enthusiasm" (p. xx). Since most articles appeared in U. S. magazines, it is very difficult to guess if any political Turkish leader had an access to these articles. In the following pages, each of these articles will be briefly discussed.

In *Secularizing a theocracy*, Dewey talked about "Young Turkey and the Caliphate." Notice that in 1924, the caliphate, which was a religious institution located in Istanbul and respected by all Muslims around the world, was abolished. In addition to the abolishment of this institution, all Islamic institutions including medreses [higher Islamic and scientific schools], general religious schools, and the office of Sheyhulislam were outlawed (Kazamias, 1966). In the

[8]Dewey, J. (1925, January). The problem of Turkey. *The New Republic, 41*, 162-163. Republished in Ratner, J. A., (1929). *Characters and events* (Vol. 1, pp. 340-345). New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company.

United states and in western Europe "the abolition of the Caliphate, the closing of the mosque schools and the assumption of the revenues of the pious Muslim foundations aroused misgiving as well as amazement" (Dewey, 1983, p. 128). The institution was a political one and played and important role in securing the support for the Ottoman empire from the Muslims around the world. These radical changes and their impact on the Turkish state are still not analyzed by historians. Dewey asked questions which have not been answered so far. These questions include "Was not the new republic going too fast? Would not the populace, faithful to religion, be alienated from political leaders capable of such revolutionary acts? Had not the Angora government lightly thrown away its greatest resource with its domestic Mohammedan population and large, if not chief, asset in foreign politics, by cutting itself loose from its religious connection? (Dewey, 1983, p. 128).

With the declaration of the republic one year before Dewey's visit, the leaders decided to change the capital city of Turkey from Istanbul to Ankara or Angora because of mainly political reasons. In *Angora the New*, Dewey discussed his impressions of the new capital. "It is not only in Europe that there is bewilderment at the decision of the new rulers of Turkey to abandon the secular capital of historic empires, situated as if nature herself had destined it to be queen of empires in order to found a new capital some hundreds of miles in the interior of Asia" (Dewey, 1983, p. 134). The most important reason for the removal of capital city was the occupation of Istanbul by foreign forces. Dewey in this article commented that when the occupation was over, "that the new leaders should continue seriously to turn their backs on a city which with Rome and Peking is one of the great capitals of the world, is incredible" (p. 134). A return was never realized and Ankara has been the capital of Turkey since then.

In *The Turkish Tragedy*, Dewey wrote about the minorities in Turkey. It was the time after the independence war against foreign forces. Dewey nicely described the ruins of war and places left by minorities in the city of Bursa. During early years of the Republic, nationalism was in its peak point. When "Ummet" the [Islamic] state transformed into nationalistic one in 1923, national state, nationalism, loosely defined the new 'national identity' stressed by leaders. Dewey explains this trend as "the Turks also have been converted to nationalism. The disease exists in a virulent

form at just this moment. It will abate or be exacerbated in just the degree in which the Turkish nation is accepted in good faith as an accomplished fact by other nations, or in which the old tradition of intervention, intrigue and incitation persists. In the latter case, the bloody tragedy of Turkey and Balkans will continue to unroll" (p. 269).

In *Foreign Schools in Turkey*, Dewey paid attention to foreign schools in Turkey and discussed "the larger educational problem within which the question of American schools has to be placed." The actions of the Turkish government against the foreign schools were well analyzed and understood by Dewey. He looked at the issue of foreign schools from a broader perspective. Over the years, foreign schools enjoyed the freedom of teaching and learning in Turkey, especially during the Ottoman Empire era. When schools started to teach nationalistic ideas about the minorities, the Turkish government suspected the activities of the schools in Turkey. Most of the foreign schools were religious and parochial.

In *The Problem of Turkey*, Dewey addressed the political and economical problems of the country. He defined the problem of Turkey in its two larger outlines. First, Dewey observed the nature of the Turkish state identified as a "military state." That observation was true. Since the proclamation of the republic, the Turkish military has dominated Turkish politics and social life. Three times it intervened in the democratic process in 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Secondly, Dewey discussed the economic aspects of Turkey's problems and their inner perplexity. "Turkey was long by turns the spoiled darling and the hapless victim of the Europeans great powers. Money was loaned to her recklessly in hope that returns would come from concessions granted with equal recklessness. Turkey never had to face the questions of natural economy which every self-respecting independent nation has to deal with" (Dewey, 1925, p. 163). During Dewey visit, Turkey was in economic crisis which threatened the disappearance of the middle class. In order to improve economic conditions, Dewey recommended that two immediate needs had to be addressed. "Schools and competent and honest civil administration will require a marked economic revival" (p. 163). Today, Turkey, as a developing nation, is still missing both good public schools and honest civil administration.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Dewey's "report and recommendations upon Turkish education" is a comprehensive theory of public education for Turkey as well as all developing countries, today and for many coming decades. Although Dewey did not know well the historical and cultural context of Turkish schooling, he understood the conditions of schooling and its problems better than his Turkish colleagues and offered fascinating solutions and a universal educational reform guidelines and framework. In his reflections essays on the Turkish state, Dewey addressed some social and political problems of the new republic from a philosophical traveler's point of view. I believe Dewey's recommendations are still relevant in understanding the issues of education. Dewey, for example, cautioned against "uniformity' in an educational system, epitomized by the Law of Unification of Instruction. Dewey saw this danger and stated that "a mechanical system of uniformity may be harmful to real unity." Regarding the role and function of the Ministry of Education, Dewey warned about the danger of centralization and lack of local control in education. According to Dewey, the function of the Ministry of Education should be "intellectual," "moral leadership," and "inspiration," rather than detailed administrative supervision and executive management. Concerning the uniformity issues and reorganization of education, Dewey's suggestions were not followed. Today these issues are crucial problems of Turkish education. Since 1997, Turkish politicians and elite intellectuals have started reemphasizing the importance of enforcement of the Law of Unification of Instruction of 1924 which was criticized by Dewey. The author of this paper believes that unity is an intellectual matter rather than an administrative one. In Turkey and all developing nations, I believe that we have to view education and its administration in the context of wider social, economic and political arrangements. After properly situating the educational crisis, we may be able to provide a framework for reform and social change efforts, such as that delineated by Dewey.

Dewey's report is a historically important in the development of the modern educational system in Turkey. The establishment of Teacher Training, Rural Teacher Training schools, Village Institutes were attempts in the direction in accordance with the recommendations of Dewey. The

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Village Institutes were opened with a good intention but they did not survived because officials of the Republican Party officials, which was only the party of the early republic, wanted to use these schools as centers for the dissemination of their party ideology. Improvement in teachers' salaries, the promotion of teachers, the training of teachers in both the nation and abroad and translations of educational literature into the Turkish language were followed in accordance with Dewey's recommendations. The republications of Dewey Reports and translations of Dewey books into the Turkish language as early as 1924 can be seen as an indicator of Dewey's influence on Turkish education.

In addition to his reports, Dewey wrote essays about Turkey, describing his observations and thoughts on the Turkish state. All the articles first appeared in the *New Republic* and later appeared in different publications. These essays addressed the social and political climate of the country from a philosopher's perspective. These articles, I believe, have a historical value to those interested in studying the transformational era of the Republic.

The reports constitute "a comprehensive theory of public education (Cohen, 1983). They speak directly to the problems of educational systems in developing countries, today and for many coming decades. Further study should compare Dewey's report with other foreign educational reports in the early years of the Turkish republic. Also, a comparative study of Dewey's foreign educational reports on Turkey, Mexico, China, and Russia is needed for the development of a comprehensive account of Dewey's theory of public education for developing nations.

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